

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ARA-10 EA-07 NEA-10 /104 W
-----027276 220127Z /70

O R 212323Z JUL 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4573
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2330

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: GROUP OF FIVE REPRESENTATIVES MEET WITH
SYG WALDHEIM

REF: USUN 2314

SUMMARY: MEETING WITH GROUP OF FIVE REPRESENTATIVES
JULY 21 TO GIVE HIS IMPRESSIONS OF OIBREVILLE OAU
SUMMIT AS IT AFFECTED NAMIBIA, SYG WALDHEIM REITERED
VIEW (REFTEL) THAT HE COULD TAKE NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR
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FIVE EFFORTS FIND SOLUTION TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEM UNTIL
SWAPO AND AFRICAN STATES HAD FORMALLY APPROVED THEM,
AND SAID BURDEN OF OBTAINING APPROVAL AND OF DESIGNING
UN ROLE IN TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BEFORE NAMIBIA'S
INDEPENDENCE RESTED ENTIRELY WITH FIVE. HE WOULD
ONLY CONCEDE RIGHT OF VIE TO USE UN'S INFORMATIONAL
FACILITIES IN DESIGNING UN ROLE. USEFULLY, HE SAID

HE WOULD INSTRUCT COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA
MARTTI AHTISAARI TO COOPERATE WITH FIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. WALDHEIM SAID HIS BASIC "IMPRESSION" OF LIBREVILLE
WAS THAT AFRICAN LEADERS DID NOT "REJECT" INITIATIVE
OF FIVE BUT WOULD INSIST THAT IMPORTANT CONDITIONS BE
MET BEFORE THEY APPROVED IT. NIGERIA'S OBASANJO,
ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA AND SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA HAD TAKEN
THIS "TOUGH" BUT NOT NECESSARILY IRRECONCILABLE LINE
HE SAID.

2. CONDITIONS WERE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN
ARMED FORCES, ESTABLISHMENT CLEAR SUPREMACY OF SECRETARY
GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OVER RESIDUAL SOUTH
AFRICAN ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL DURING TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD AND, GENERALLY, TO KEEP WITHIN FRAMEWORK UN
RESOLUTIONS, ESPECIALLY SC RES 385, 1976. WALDHEIM QUOTED
NUJOMA AS SAYING WITHDRAWAL WAS "SINE QUO NON" OF SWAPO
APPROVAL. WHEN WALDHEIM SUGGESTED THAT SAG MIGHT BE
WILLING PULL BACK TO BORDER AREAS BUT NOT TO WITHDRAW
ALTOGETHER AND THAT UN TROOPS BE BROUGHT IN TO HELP
KEEP ORDER IN CITIES, NUJOMA REPORTEDLY COUNTERED
WITH DEMAND THAT SWAPO BE INCLUDED IN ANY MIXED PEACEKEEPING
FORCE, I.E., THREE-MEN-IN-THE-JEEP. RE UN ROLE, WALDHEIM
SAID AFRICANS HAD BEEN "MORE OR LESS UNANIMOUS"
THAT UN MUST HAVE EXTENSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS
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IN TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE MUST ENJOY "DE FACTO VETO POWER" OVER
SOUTH AFRICANS AND HIS MANDATE MUST CLEARLY SPELL
THIS OUT. WHEN WLAHEIM SUGGESTED THAT ALL-OR-NOTHING
JURIDICAL APPROACH OF PAST HAD FAILED BRING SOLUTION
TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, AFRICANS REPORTEDLY SAID THEY
WOULD INSIST ON EXTENSIVE ROLE FOR UN, INCLUDING COUNCIL
FOR NAMIBIA. NUJOMA SAID THIS WOULD NOT PRECLUDE
SECRETARY GENERAL FROM NAMING SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
BUT HIS TERMS OF REFERENCE MUST BE IN LINE WITH
RESOLUTIONS AND NO APPOINTMENT SHOULD BE MADE UNTIL
SATISFACTORY TERMS OF REFERENCE WERE AGREED.

3. KAUNDA REPORTEDLY SUGGESTED "COMPROMISE" BY WHICH
SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD APPOINT CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR
IN CONSULTATION WITH SAG, AND SAG WOULD ANNOUNCE
APPOINTMENT.

4. ADDITIONAL POINTS MADE BY NUJOMA, ACCORDING
WALDHEIM, WERE THAT SWAPO COULD ACCEPT COMMISSIONER
FOR NAMIBIA AS SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
AND THAT SWAPO WANTED EARLY UNGA SPECIAL SESSION TO

"RE-DEFINE" UN POSITION ON NAMIBIA. WALDHEIM
SAID SPECIAL SESSION NOT FEASIBLE BECAUSE OF CROWDED
UN SCHEDULE. HE BELIEVED SWAPO RECOGNIZED PROBLEMS
AND WAS NOT LIKELY TO PRESS FOR SESSION IN "IMMEDIATE
FUTURE."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2330

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

5. IN ANSWER TO AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S QUESTION WHETHER
SWAPO REALLY WANTED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, WALDHEIM
SAID IT WANTED SETTLEMENT BUT HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT
INITIATIVE OF FIVE. SWAPO FEARED APPROACH TAKEN BY
FIVE MIGHT RESULT IN ITS BEING FROZEN OUT OF NAMIBIAN
POLITICAL PROCESS AND IN INSTALLATION TURNHALLE
ELEMENTS IN POWER. SWAPO WANTS FULL OPPORTUNITY TO DE-
VELOP ITS POLITICAL PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, AND DOUBTS
THAT IT WILL HAVE SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY WHILE SOUTH
AFRICAN TROOPS STILL THERE. HENCE, ITS DEMANDS FOR
SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND LARGE UN ADMINISTRA-

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TIVE ROLE.

6. MCHENRY REMAINED WALDHEIM THAT SWAPO HAD NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION OF FIVE TO CONSULT. UNTIL IT DID SO, AND SWAPO CLARIFIED ITS POSITION, SAG WAS UNLIKELY MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO FIVE. IN PARTICULAR, SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS MIGHT DEPEND UPON ASSURANCES THAT SWAPO ACCEPTED PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. FIVE ALSO NEEDED MORE SPECIFICITY ABOUT POTENTIAL UN ROLE; HE NOTED TENDENCY TO UNDERESTIMATE WHAT UN COULD TO IN SITUATION.

7. CANADIAN MINISTER-COUNSELLOR PAUL LAPONTE STRESSED THAT FIVE NEEDED SECRETARY GENERAL'S HELP DEVELOPING POSSIBLE UN ROLE IN ORDER FACILITATE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, ELICITING STATEMENT BY WALDHEIM THAT HE WAS IN NO POSITION TAKE ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATIVE OF FIVE UNTIL "BASIC DIFFERENCES" BETWEEN SAG AND SWAPO HAD BEEN OVERCOME AND ALL PARTIES HAD COME TO AGREEMENT. MOREOVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT INITIATIVE OF FIVE, WHICH HE APPRECIATED, WAS UNDERTAKEN ENTIRELY ON THEIR OWN AND HAD NO SECURITY COUNCIL BACKING. HE COULD NOT PRODUCE BLUEPRINT FOR UN ROLE IN NAMIBIA IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. IT IS UP TO FIVE TO DESIGN POTENTIAL UN ROLE AND TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WITH SWAPO AND AFRICANS. SECRETARY GENERAL CAN ACT IN SUCH CASES ONLY WHEN HE HAS EXPLICIT MANDATE FROM SECURITY COUNCIL. IN VIEW OF JURIDICAL POSITION LAID OUT IN EXISTING RESOLUTIONS, ANY INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY GENERAL AT THIS STAGE MIGHT EVEN BE DETRIMENTAL TO WORK OF FIVE.

8. HOWEVER, WALDHEIM SAID ALL MEMBER STATES HAD RIGHT
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TO CALL ON SECRETARIAT FOR "INFORMATION," AND HE INVITED FIVE TO CALL UPON COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA AND MEMBERS OF SECRETARIAT FOR ANY INFORMATION THEY NEEDED TO DESIGN UN ROLE IN NAMIBIA, FOR EXAMPLE. HE SAID HE WOULD "INSTRUCT" COMMISSIONER TO COOPERATE WITH FIVE AND CALL HIM BACK FROM HIS HOLIDAY IN FINLAND IF FIVE SO DESIRED.

9. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH SECRETARY GENERAL MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL NOT ACTIVELY ASSIST FIVE AT THIS STAGE, MEETING

WAS NOT ENTIRELY NEGATIVE. IT CLARIFIED TASKS FIVE MUST ADDRESS TO MAINTAIN POLITICAL MOMENTUM AND, ASSUMING SECRETARY GENERAL'S INSTRUCTIONS ARE FORTHCOMING, AS WE EXPECT THEY WILL BE, IT WILL GIVE COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA THE AUTHORITY HE WANTS AND HAS HITHERTO LACKED TO WORK WITH FIVE FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

10. CHEF DE CABINET LATER CALLED MCHENRY TO STRESS THAT SECRETARY GENERAL WAS PREPARED RECALL AHTISAARI AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS FARAH FROM THEIR HOLIDAYS IN ORDER FACILITATE FIVE. SINCE SECRETARY GENERAL WAS LEAVING JULY 22 FOR OVERSEAS TRIP AND HE DID NOT WANT TO DELAY FIVE IN THEIR SEARCH FOR "INFORMATION", HE WANTED DO WHAT HE COULD BEFORE DEPARTURE. QUESTION WAS NOT WHETHER BUT WHEN AHTISAARI AND FARAH WOULD BE RECALLED. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT NEXT WEEK WAS SUITABLE. LEONARD

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